DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 062 494 UD 012 375

TITLE	Fact Book on Pupil Transportation. MARC Document Number 2.
INSTITUTION	Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., New York, N.Y.
SPONS AGENCY	B'nai B'rith, New York, N.Y. Anti-Defamation League.; Cheyney State Coll., Pa.; National Urban League, Inc., New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Apr 72
NOTE	89p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Bus Transportation; Educational Opportunities; Educational Policy; Equal Education; Integration Effects; Integration Litigation; *Integration Methods; Integration Plans; Policy Formation; Racial Integration; *School Integration; Social Integration; Student Transportation; *Transfer Programs

ABSTRACT

In view of the fact that the issue of the transportation of pupils in the public school for purposes of desegregation has now become politically and emotionally charged, the Metropolitan Applied Research Center staff decided to collect and analyze the facts on the extent, the nature, and the consequences of transportation of children to schools in the United States. This book is the result of an intensive examination of available studies, articles, and press reports on busing throughout the United States. It attempts to distill the more pertinent facts on busing, and seeks to present these facts so that readers can determine the validity of the arguments offered by those who would seek to prohibit the transportation of children for purposes of public school desegregation. These facts lead to the conclusion that all proposed legislation or constitutional amendments addressed specifically to the prohibition of transportation for purposes of desegregation of schools would be racially restrictive legislation. These facts also strongly suggest that specific prohibition of transportation of children for purposes of school desegregation would be violative of the letter and the spirit of the Equal Prgection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and would neutralize any further effect of the Brown decision of 1954. (Author/JM)

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FACT BOOK ON PUPIL TRANSPORTATION

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Document No. 2

Prepared by:

MARC Busing Task Force

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Publication and distribution of this document made possible through the financial support of the following organizations:

Anti Defamation League
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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
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INTRODUCTION

During the past two years the President of the United States has repeatedly stated his opposition to the transportation of pupils in the public schools for purposes of desegregation. Nonetheless, federal district courts have handed down decisions requiring the transportation of pupils to public schools as a method of dismantling the bi-racial organizations of these school systems and thereby implementing the *Brown* decision of 1954. The United States Supreme Court has affirmed the transportation of students for this purpose.

This conflict between the opinion of the President and the decisions of the federal courts has been further complicated by demands from governmental officials, and particularly Congressional spokesmen and leaders, for legislation or a constitutional amendment which would prohibit the "busing" of children for purposes of obtaining racial balance. This issue has now become an important political issue with intense emotional and racial overtones.

The opponents of the use of the method of transportation for purposes of desegregation of the public schools base their opposition on the contention that the "busing" of public school children is itself undesirable and tends to erode and destroy the value of neighborhood schools.

In view of the fact that this issue has now become politically and emotionally charged, the MARC staff decided to collect and analyze the facts on the extent, the nature and the consequences of transportation of children to schools in the United States. It is our belief that these facts will help to determine

the validity of the arguments offered by those who oppose such transportation and who seek legislation to prohibit it.

This MARC Fact Book is the result of an intensive examination of available studies, articles, and press reports on busing throughout the United States. It attempts to distill the more pertinent facts on busing, and seeks to present these facts so that readers can determine the validity of the arguments offered by those who would seek to prohibit the transportation of children for purposes of public school desegregation.

The section titled "General Summary of Facts" lists 21 important facts about transportation; the main text, "Documentation of Facts," presents the 21 facts followed by the supporting evidence.

MARC Busing Task Force
Kenneth B. Clark
Lawrence Plotkin
Russia Hughes
Susan Phillis
Joan Tormey
Catherine Martin

GENERAL SUMMARY OF FACTS

1. Transportation of students to public schools with public funds has been authorized by laws of all 48 states since 1919.

2. In 1971-72 nearly 20 million pupils are being transported to schools by buses at public expense throughout the United States.

3. These pupils are transported a total of 2,200,000,000 miles at a cost of nearly one billion dollars.

4. Up to the present, pupils have been transported to schools for generally accepted economic, logistic, general, and special educational reasons; e.g., school reorganization and consolidation, distances in rural and suburban areas and poor public transportation, for special cooperative educational and vocational training services, and the transportation of handicapped or other special groups of students.

5. There has been a small, gradual increase in the percentage of children transported to school in the decade from 1960 to 1970.

6. The rates of increase in children transported have been larger in previous decades between 1930 and 1950.

7. Smaller school districts and rural communities transport a higher percentage of their pupils than larger and urban school districts.

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8. Cost of school transportation accounts for approximately five per cent of the total cost of public education.

9. The best estimate based upon data available to date is that approximately three per cent of all bused students are being transported to schools for purposes of school desegregation.

10. There is suggestive evidence that more pupils are being transported at public expense to racially *segregated* schools—including public schools, private schools, parochial schools and recently organized Protestant church related "academies"—than for purposes of school desegregation.

11. There is evidence to support the contention that white, and particularly black, students were and are being transported greater distances for longer time and at greater cost to racially segregated than to desegregated schools.

12. When school desegregation occurs, the black pupils are required to bear the greater burden—are transported greater distances for longer time—than the white pupils.

13. In those comparatively few cases where white students are transported to predominantly black schools for purposes of desegregation, the following conditions tend to prevail:

    —the predominantly black schools are usually in peripheral or racially mixed areas;

    —the black schools are improved physically, as are their educational facilities and programs;

—and though some of the white students tend to leave the public schools, many of them return.

14. There was no emotional outcry and no demands for restrictive legislation from Congress or the President and his advisors when white and black children were (and are) being transported long distances, at greater cost for purposes of maintaining racially segregated schools.

15. Fifteen states permit the transportation of pupils to private and other non-public schools at public expense.

16. None of the presently proposed legislation seeks to prohibit the use of public funds to transport pupils to private and parochial schools—and to racially segregated private "academies."

17. Transportation to school by means of school buses is the safest means of transportation in the nation—both in terms of accident and fatality rates.

18. There is empirical evidence that students themselves do not object to or are in any way harmed by the fact of being transported to school by buses.

19. Although more research is needed and under way, the present evidence indicates that black students transported to desegregated schools gain academically—and white students maintain their usual academic performance.

20. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare commissioned, but did not release, a study of busing which indicated that there could be almost complete desegregation of public schools, even in some large cities, within practical limits of travel time and cost.

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21. The President's request for additional school funds from Congress, accompanying his request for a busing moratorium, ignored the evidence that compensatory education—the system of merely providing funds for poverty areas to upgrade education—has generally failed.

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1. TRANSPORTATION OF STUDENTS TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS WITH PUBLIC FUNDS HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED BY LAWS OF ALL 48 STATES SINCE 1919.

In 1919 all of the then 48 states had laws authorizing public funds for busing children to and from school.

—"School Bus, an Old American Stand-By, Stirs Tension As a Vehicle of Change," Gene Maeroff. New York *Times,* Jan. 10, 1972, p. 5E.

In 1869 Massachusetts had a law authorizing the expenditure of public moneys for carrying children to and from school by horse drawn vehicles.

—"School Bus, an Old American Stand-By, Stirs Tension As a Vehicle of Change," Gene Maeroff. New York *Times,* Jan. 10, 1972, p. 5E.

"With 50% (sic) of our students in America climbing on to buses every day, busing is as American as apple pie . . ." Sermon by Bishop Richard S. Emrich, Episcopal Diocese of Michigan.

—"Community and Society." *Education Summary,* Feb. 18, 1972, p. 6.

2. IN 1971-1972 NEARLY 20 MILLION PUPILS ARE BEING TRANSPORTED TO SCHOOL BY BUSES AT PUBLIC EXPENSE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

Millions of white students in rural areas, suburbs, and Catholics in urban areas have been bused for years.

—"The Busing Myth: Seg Academies Bus More Children, and Further." Leonard Levine and Kitty Griffith. *South Today,* May 1970, p.7.

Louisiana bused 50 per cent of all students, and an estimated 70,000 private students, at a cost $30 million in 1970. Louisiana has been providing state funds to transport all students, public and private, since a 1938 Supreme Court ruling.

—"The Busing Myth: Seg Academies Bus More Children, and Further." Leonard Levine and Kitty Griffith. *South Today,* May 1970, p. 7.

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2. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

". . . I find it difficult to understand how busing, which has been a fact of life for decades in Northern suburbs, becomes a menace to the cities. It is particularly puzzling because busing has never been questioned for so many other educational programs. Between them, the six largest cities in New York State have 63 per cent of the state's handicapped children, most of them requiring busing to special classes. They have 65 per cent of the State's full-time vocational pupils, many of whom need busing to special technical programs.

"The concept of the neighborhood school seems to be threatened by busing only when that busing is to reduce racial imbalance. . . "

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 92nd Congress, 1st session, Oct. 6, 1971. Testimony of John M. Franco, Supt. of Schools, Rochester, N.Y., pt. 18, p. 9035.

Former Attorney General John Mitchell sent his 10 year old daughter to Stone Ridge Country Day School in Bethesda, Maryland, requiring transportation of 18 miles.

—*Roll Call, The Newspaper of Capital Hill,* June 25, 1970.

2. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

Inner-city—Suburban Transportation for Desegregation

Program Title	Year Started	Non-white school Population	No. of Children
Boston METCO	1966	24%	220 (1966)
Hartford	1966	56%	266 (1966)
			284 (1967)
Rochester	1965	28%	64
White Plains	1964	18%	750

—"The Busing of Students For Equal Opportunities," Thomas W. Mahan, *Journal of Negro Education,* Summer, 1968, p. 293.

In 1969, 1200 children (85% black) travelled to 15 suburbs by bus as part of Project Concern.

—*"Facts about Project Concern,"* Project Concern, Hartford, Connecticut, 1970, p. 1.

Project Concern—Hartford, Connecticut, involves four cities and 26 suburbs. Buses 2,000 lower-grade, inner-city children. Travelling time—maximum of 40 minutes each way.

—"You Got Some Nice Things Here Too," Richard Margolis. New York *Times,* Oct. 24, 1971, Sect. 4, p. 10.

3. THESE PUPILS ARE TRANSPORTED A TOTAL OF 2,200,000,000 MILES AT A COST OF NEARLY ONE BILLION DOLLARS.

In 1970-71, 19,617,600 children were transported 2,200,000,000 miles at a total cost of $1,517,-900,000, including capital layout. The total number of vehicles was 256,000.

—"Fact Sheet; Pupil Transportation in the U.S.," prepared by David H. Soule, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, U.S. Department of Transportation.

"Forty per cent of all school children in America are bused to school—two billion miles a year—at a cost of $98 million for 250,000 buses. To be opposed to busing is to not want 40 per cent of American youngsters to go to school."

—"It's the End of the Bus Ride That Matters," Theodore M. Hesburgh. New York *Times,* Sept. 15, 1971, p. 43.

3. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

From a speech by Senator Walter F. Mondale, Democrat of Minnesota, on February 18, 1972:

> "Busing is the way the overwhelming majority of school children outside our central cities get to school. Twenty million elementary and secondary school children are bused. They rode 256,000 yellow buses 2,200,000,000 miles last year. The annual cost of busing last year was $2.5 billion. And 40 per cent of our children—65 per cent when those riding public transportation are included—ride to school every day for reasons that have nothing at all to do with school desegregation."
>
> —"Mondale Appeals for End of Efforts to Bar Busing," John Herbers. New York *Times,* Feb. 19, 1972, p. 20.

4. UP TO THE PRESENT, PUPILS HAVE BEEN TRANSPORTED TO SCHOOLS FOR GENERALLY ACCEPTED ECONOMIC, LOGISTIC, GENERAL, AND SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL REASONS; E.G., SCHOOL REORGANIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION, DISTANCES IN RURAL AND SUBURBAN AREAS AND POOR PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION, FOR SPECIAL COOPERATIVE EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING SERVICES, AND THE TRANSPORTATION OF HANDICAPPED OR OTHER SPECIAL GROUPS OF STUDENTS.

Dr. E. Glenn Featherston, U.S. Office of Education, "estimates that about 90 per cent of school busing has resulted from school consolidation."

—"School Busing a U.S. Tradition," Donald Janson. New York *Times,* May 24, 1970, p. 49.

". . . state and federal officials estimate about two-thirds of the country's 45 million school pupils are bused." Forty per cent are provided transportation and 26 per cent go by common carrier.

—"School Busing a U.S. Tradition," Donald Janson. New York *Times,* May 24, 1970, p. 49.

4. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

In 1968, Georgia transported 64 per cent of the rural children.

—"Busing School Children a Southern Way of Life," Junie Brown. *Atlanta Journal,* April 31, 1970.

Education Commisioner Sidney Marland, Jr., said that 40 per cent of the nation's school children had traditionally been bused, so the idea of transportation as part of the educational process was not new.

—"School Chief Says Busing Could Be Tool Against Bias." New York *Times,* Dec. 16, 1971, p. 61.

5. THERE HAS BEEN A SMALL, GRADUAL INCREASE IN THE PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN TRANSPORTED TO SCHOOL IN THE DECADE FROM 1960 TO 1970.

Public Elementary and Secondary Schools—
Pupil Transportation: 1960 to 1968

Pupil Transportation	At Public Expense (in 1,000)	Percent of Enrollment	Expenditure of Public Funds (in $1,000)	Cost per Pupil Transportation (in Dollars)
1960	12,225	37.6	486,338	39.78
1964	14,476	38.7	673,845	46.55
1966	15,537	39.7	787,358	50.68
1968	17,131	42.0	981,006	57.27

—*Statistical Abstract of the United States,* U.S. Bureau of the Census. Wash., G.P.O., 1971, table 185, p. 120.

This rate of increase is less than that of the previous decade, between 1950 and 1968.

Pupil Transportation: 1950 to 1968

	Pupils Transported		Expenditure of Public Funds[2]	
	At Public Expense[1] (1,000)	Percent of Enrollment	Total Mil. Dol.	Per Pupil Transported (Dollars)
1950	6,947	27.7	215	31
1960	12,225	37.6	486	40
1966	15,537	39.7	787	51
1968	16,550	40.4	910	55

1. Beginning 1960, relates to pupils in average daily attendance.
2. Excludes capital outlay (U.S. Office of Education).

—*Pocket Data Book USA 1971,* U.S. Bureau of the Census. Wash., G.P.O., 1971, table 211, p. 166.

5. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

There has been a gradual increase in the percentage of children transported to school in the last decade (from 37.6% in 1960 to 42% in 1968).

Busing Trend—
Percentage of Pupils Transported

Year	Percent Transported
1959-60	37.6
1961-62	38.1
1963-64	38.7
1965-66	39.7
1967-68	42.0

—"Pupil Transportation Service Data for 1959 to 1968," U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics.

Georgia is an example of rate of increase in general purpose transportation of pupils to schools since 1919.

Georgia: Pupil Transportation

Percent of Total	No. of Students Bused	Year
45.0%	537,626	1968-69
	434,079	1959-60
	246,903	1949-50
	174,684	1939-40
	77,762	1929-30
.8%	5,783	1919-20

—"Busing School Children a Southern Way of Life," Junie Brown. *Atlanta Journal,* April 31, 1970.

6. THE RATES OF INCREASE IN CHILDREN TRANSPORTED HAVE BEEN LARGER IN PREVIOUS DECADES BETWEEN 1930 AND 1950.

Public Elementary and Secondary Schools—Pupil Transportation: 1930 to 1950. (Excludes Alaska and Hawaii)

Pupil Transportation	At Public Expense (in 1,000)	Percent of Enrollment	Expenditure of Public Funds (in $1,000)	Cost per Pupil Transportation (in dollars)
1930	1,903	7.4	54,823	28.81
1940	4,144	16.3	83,283	20.10
1950	6,947	27.7	214,504	30.88

(See data on page 16 for 1960 to 1968)

—*Statistical Abstract of the United States,* U.S. Bureau of the Census. Wash., G.P.O., 1971, table 185, p. 120.

The number of children bused nationally has not changed significantly in the three-year period between 1967 and 1970. The following chart lists the changes in pupil transporation by regions of the United States in this period:

Great Lakes and Plains Sates	+5.4%
Southern States	+2.8%
North Atlantic States	+0.9%
Western and Southwestern States	—0.1%

—U.S. Office of Civil Rights, 1971.

7. SMALLER SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND RURAL COMMUNITIES TRANSPORT A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF THEIR PUPILS THAN LARGER AND URBAN SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

Smaller school districts and rural communities transport a higher percentage of pupils (58%) than larger school districts (21%).

Border states transport highest percentage (53%); Southern states next (44%), and Northern and Western states the lowest (37%).

Transportation of Pupils at Public Expense*
Percentage of Students Transported

District Size	300-3,000	3,000-39,999	Over 39,999	Total
Cont. U.S.	57.8	42.6	21.0	41.3
32 N. & W.	57.0	34.6	9.7	36.8
11 South	57.2	49.6	23.7	43.8
6 Border and D.C.	63.5	60.4	36.4	53.4

Percentage of Total Schools with Some Transported Pupils

Cont. U.S.	90.7	80.7	57.8	80.7
32 N. & W.	91.0	78.8	52.7	81.1
11 South	90.0	81.4	55.7	78.5
6 Border and D.C.	90.0	87.1	72.4	84.9

* Weighted Partial Unedited 1970 Data

—Pupils Transported to School by District Size—Fall, 1970," E&S Public Schools Survey (Partial, Unedited Data) 1970.

8. COST OF SCHOOL TRANSPORTATION ACCOUNTS FOR APPROXIMATELY FIVE PER CENT OF THE TOTAL COST OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Percent Expenditure for School Transportation

1965-66	1967-68	1969-70	1971-72
4.7%	4.5%	4.3%	4.6%

—"The Cost of Education Index," *School Management*. v. 14, Jan. 1970, p. 43, v. 16, Jan. 1972, p. 25.

9. THE BEST ESTIMATE BASED UPON DATA AVAILABLE TO DATE IS THAT APPROXIMATELY THREE PER CENT OF ALL BUSED STUDENTS ARE BEING TRANSPORTED TO SCHOOLS FOR PURPOSES OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

"Busing [for integration] accounts for less than three per cent of the century-old billion-dollar program of student transportation."

—"School Busing a U.S. Tradition," Donald Janson. New York *Times,* May 24, 1970, p. 49.

Nearly 42 per cent of the nation's public-school children go to school by bus. Only a very tiny portion of these, perhaps no more than three per cent, are bused for reasons involving racial integration.

—"Busing: An American Dilemma," *Newsweek,* Mar. 13, 1972, p. 20.

"Take the word 'busing.' We bus 800,000 youngsters every school day in California at a cost of over $100 million a year. Less than one-half of one per cent are bused for integration purposes, and yet we have allowed busing to become an emotional issue in this country where just the words 'do you believe in busing?' creates all kinds of scary connotations."

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd session, Sept. 15, 1970. Testimony of Wilson C. Riles, Calif. Supt. of Public Instruction, pt. 6, p. 3130.

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9. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

When 17 Southern cities desegregated voluntarily or under court order, the percentage increase in the number of pupils bused averaged 37.3 per cent. Only the four cities with the least busing prior to desegregation had increases of over 100 per cent.

—U.S. Office of Education, 1972.

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10. THERE IS SUGGESTIVE EVIDENCE THAT MORE PUPILS WERE BEING TRANSPORTED AT PUBLIC EXPENSE TO RACIALLY *SEGREGATED* SCHOOLS—INCLUDING PUBLIC SCHOOLS, PRIVATE SCHOOLS, PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND RECENTLY ORGANIZED PROTESTANT CHURCH RELATED "ACADEMIES"—THAN FOR PURPOSES OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

"Southern educators felt busing was so essential that numerous counties in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia transported almost all their pupils, white buses taking white children to white schools and Negro buses meeting them on the streets while taking black pupils to Negro schools.

"About 90 per cent of 300 desegregated plans approved by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for Southern school districts last year decreased total busing."

—"School Busing a U.S. Tradition," Donald Janson. New York *Times,* May 24, 1970, p. 49.

10. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

"In South Holland, Ill., for example, a U.S. District Court found public agencies deeply involved in fostering school segregation.

"First, schools were located in the center rather than at the boundaries of segregated residential areas in order to achieve school segregation.

"Second, school assignment policies were adopted under which black children living nearer to white schools attended black schools, and white children living nearer to black schools attended white schools.

"Third, school buses were used to transport students out of their neighborhoods in order tc achieve segregation.

"Fourth, teachers were assigned on a racial basis. . . .

"The courts have found virtually identical conditions in Norfolk, Va.; Pasadena, Calif.; Charlotte, N.C.; Denver, Colo.; and *countless other communities.*"

—Senator Walter F. Mondale, *Congressional Record,* Feb. 18, 1972, p. 2.

(Emphasis our own)

10. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

"Not only is busing a common phenomenon, but it has been used frequently not just to get parochial, private, nursery, and rural pupils to school, but also to maintain segregated and racially imbalanced school systems."

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd session, May 5, 1970. Testimony of Dr. Alexander Plante, Bureau of Continuing Education, Connecticut Dept. of Community Affairs, pt. 1A, p. 271.

"In my state, we easterners think we are pretty fancy, the most distinguished and affluent. Our private nursery schools bus their children as much as 25 miles. This is thought to be very fashionable and good in Fairfield County."

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd session, May 5, 1970. Testimony of Dr. Alexander Plante, Bureau of Continuing Education, Connecticut Dept. of Community Affairs, pt. 1A, p. 271.

10. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

"We have 9,600 children in the city of Detroit who get on a bus or some other vehicle daily to go to suburban areas to private schools (parochial mainly) and, in a few instances to public schools."

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd session, May 12, 1970. Testimony of Dr. Norman Drachler, Supt. of Detroit Public Schools, pt. 1A, p. 347.

Less than one per cent of children in Washington, D.C., suburban communities are bused for desegregation.

Pupil Transportation—
Washington, D.C., Suburbs

Suburban Area	Total No. of Pupils	No. of Pupils Bused	Per cent Bused
Montgomery Co.	127,000	57,000	45%
Prince George	162,828	78,000	47%
Fairfax Co.	136,000	83,000	62%
Arlington Co.	23,994	9,532	40%
Alexandria	17,400	6,450	37%

579,000 children attend schools in the Washington area. Fewer than 5,000 children are bused to achieve desegregation in Arlington Co., Alexandria, and D.C.

—"Busing Costs Area $15 Million," Jay Mathews. *Washington Post,* Feb. 28, 1972, p. C1.

10. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

Buses travel 15 fewer minutes per day to achieve integration than they did to achieve segregation.

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd session, June 17, 1970. Testimony of Donald D. Abernethy, Supt. of Hoke County Schools, North Carolina, pt. 3A, p. 1297.

In Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the system as a whole, without regard to desegregation plans, planned to bus approximately 23,000 students this year, for an average daily round trip of 15 miles.

Under the desegregation plan trips would average seven miles and the District Court found that they would take not over 35 minutes at the most.

North Carolina law required provision of transportation for all students who are assigned to schools more than one and one-half miles from their homes.

—*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg (N.C.) Board of Education,* 402 U.S.1 (1971).

10. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

The decrease in mileage following desegregation indicates the extent to which pupils were transported to insure racial segregation.

Impact of desegregation plans on busing in the South, 1966-67 to 1968-69:

Georgia	Enrollment *up* 92,357 Students bused *up* 14,434 Total bus mileage *down* 473,662
South Carolina	Enrollment *up* 10,693 Students bused *up* 5,259 Total bus mileage *down* 162,006
Mississippi	Students bused *up* 2,491 Total mileage *down* 209,684
Tennessee	Students bused *down* 20,048 Total mileage *down* 1,910,656
Florida	Students bused *up* 30,118 Total mileage *up* 4,868

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd session, Aug. 6, 1970. Testimony of Elliot Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, figures prepared by Atlanta Regional Office, U.S. Office of Civil Rights, pt. 3C, p. 1777.

11. THERE IS EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE CONTENTION THAT WHITE, AND PARTICULARLY BLACK, STUDENTS WERE AND ARE BEING TRANSPORTED GREATER DISTANCES FOR LONGER TIME AND AT GREATER COST TO RACIALLY SEGREGATED THAN TO DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS.

"Total busing mileage, in fact, decreased in most Southern states as desegregation took place," said Paul Rilling, Southern Regional Director of HEW.

—"The Busing Myth: Seg Academies Bus More Children, and Further," Leonard Levine and Kitty Griffith. *South Today,* May 1970, p. 7.

From 1940 through 1965, black school children in Frederick County attended schools in Winchester for the stated reason that there was no black high school available in the county, and also for reasons of proximity. In 1961 through 1969, white students from Cumberland County were sent to school in Powhatan and Prince Edward Counties, their tuition paid by Cumberland for the purpose of avoiding integration.

—*Bradley v. School Board of Richmond (Va.).* Civil number 3353 (E.D. Va. Jan. 5, 1972) p. 177.

11. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

From the school year 1954-55 through the beginning of 1970-71, Virginia students have attended both public and private schools in other states, both within and beyond commuting range of their homes, with tuition and/or transportation payments made from public funds. . . Where the race of the respective student can be ascertained from the exhibits, *it is apparent that with rare exception blacks and whites have been assigned to separate schools.*

The purpose of the practices aforementioned were, except in those instances involving special situations such as The Washington, D.C., Private School for the Handicapped, *to preserve segregated schools.*

—*Bradley v. School Board of Richmond (Va.),* Civil number 3353 (E.D. Va. Jan. 5, 1972), p.177.

(Emphasis our own)

For segregation, the N.Y. State Supreme Court ruled that the Albany Board was right in insisting that the Negro child travel to an all-Negro school instead of attending the school nearest his home.

In *Dietz,* the Court denied the existence of a citizen's "absolute right to send his children to that one of the public schools which is near to his residence." *People ex rel. Dietz v. Easton,* 13 Abb. n.s. (N.Y.) 16, (1872).

—*Race and Place: A Legal History of the Neighborhood School,* Meyer Weinberg. Wash., G.P.O., 1967, p. 12.

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11. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

HEW statistics show that busing children long distances for the purpose of segregation has been done for years. In Sturges, Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, Negro children were bused past a white school to a Negro school in Maben, 46½ miles away, (93 miles round-trip).

In an Atlanta suburb black children were bused 75 miles round-trip daily to attend a segregated school until 1968.

In Newport News, Va., children are bused 25 miles daily to sustain a "freedom-of-choice" segregated plan.

To maintain segregation, Mississippi is busing mostly rural children in Franklin County (97%); Marion (96%); North Pike (94%); Lauderdale (99%); Kemper (95%).

—"Children Bused for Many Miles to Maintain Segregation," Spencer Rich. *Washington Post,* March 9, 1970, p. 1.

Over half a million students were transported throughout the state of Virginia during the school year 1968-69. During the school year 1968-69, the average number of pupils transported per bus in the cities of Virginia was 122; the average miles per bus per day was 42—ranging from 18 to 90 miles.

—*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg (N.C.) Board of Education,* 402 U.S. 1 (1971), p. 180.

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11. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

Survey of eight states shows public schools bus an average of 49.5 per cent of their pupils and the segregated academies are busing an average of 62 per cent.

—"The Busing Myth: Seg Academies Bus More Children, and Further," Leonard Levine and Kitty Griffith. *South Today,* May 1970, p.7.

Public school students travel an average of 10.1 miles per day each way; segregated academy students travel an average of 17.7 miles per day each way.

—"The Busing Myth: Seg Academies Bus More Children, and Further," Leonard Levine and Kitty Griffith. *South Today,* May 1970, p.7.

Of 300 Southern counties, Mr. Lloyd Henderson, Office of Civil Rights, HEW, found out that only seven would increase busing when desegregated. The remaining 293 would have the same or less busing after desegregation.

—"Children Bused for Many Miles to Maintain Segregation," Spencer Rich. *Washington Post,* March 9, 1970, p. 1.

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11. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

In South Carolina, black students will be bused up to 60 miles to get to school during 1970-71 school year (120 miles round trip).

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, June 18, 1970. Testimony of Arthur Mae Cohen, Beaufort County, South Carolina, pt. 3B, p. 1333.

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12. WHEN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION OCCURS, THE BLACK PUPILS ARE REQUIRED TO BEAR THE GREATER BURDEN—ARE TRANSPORTED GREATER DISTANCES FOR LONGER TIME—THAN THE WHITE PUPILS.

According to the Evanston, Illinois, plan, 37 per cent of the black elementary pupils spend up to 25 minutes riding to school. White pupils are also bused, many on the same bus with black pupils, but only within their regular school district boundaries.

—"Busing Brings Slight Learning Gains for Black Pupils in Evanston, But Black-White Discrepancy Persists," *Education Summary,* Dec. 10, 1971, p. 3.

In 1963, Riverside, Calif., passed a desegregation plan which closed two predominantly Negro schools and transported those children to what had been predominantly white schools in the city.

—"Violence and Civic Responsibility," Tony Duster. *In:* Raymond Mack, ed., *Our Children's Burden.* N.Y. Vintage Books, 1968, p. 35.

12. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

Although 19.5 per cent of the student population is Negro, about 1,627 black and 1,393 white elementary school children were bused for the purpose of desegregation.

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Hillsborough Co., Florida."

"Even though black students make up only 33.12 per cent of the total number of elementary students in the district, over half of the first-through-fourth grade students being bused were black."

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina."

13. IN THOSE COMPARATIVELY FEW CASES WHERE WHITE STUDENTS ARE TRANSPORTED TO PREDOMINANTLY BLACK SCHOOLS FOR PURPOSES OF DESEGREGATION, THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS TEND TO PREVAIL:

—THE PREDOMINANTLY BLACK SCHOOLS ARE USUALLY IN PERIPHERAL OR RACIALLY MIXED AREAS;

—THE BLACK SCHOOLS ARE IMPROVED PHYSICALLY, AS ARE THEIR EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND PROGRAMS;

—AND THOUGH SOME OF THE WHITE STUDENTS TEND TO LEAVE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MANY OF THEM RETURN.

HILLSBOROUGH CO., FLORIDA, 1971-72

"The facilities at formerly black schools were greatly improved and made equal to those at formerly white schools" in preparation for the implementation of the desegregation plan in Hillsborough Co., Florida. For example, air-conditioning, covers for bare light bulbs, and an increase in supplies were provided.

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Hillsborough Co., Florida."

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13. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

HILLSBOROUGH CO., FLORIDA, 1971-72

Desegregation was designed by dividing 77 elementary schools into 17 clusters in such a way that busing of white children begins in the 6th grade and busing of black children begins in the 1st grade.

32,000 students are transported approximately 6,403 miles each way.

In spite of the fact that 2,000 white children left at the 6th grade, many have returned.

There has been extensive renovation of formerly black schools.

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Hillsborough Co., Florida."

13. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

FORSYTH CO., NORTH CAROLINA, 1971-72

32,220 students are transported an average of 51 miles per day on 351 buses. This takes an average of one hour each way.

The plan was to use all techniques to desegregate, but it appears that to achieve racial balance two-thirds of the black pupils attend schools outside their neighborhood while one-third of the white pupils are required to attend schools outside their neighborhoods. Most of the children being transported in the first four grades are black.

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Forsyth Co., North Carolina."

13. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

"As a result of implementation of the (desegregation) plan many of the formerly black schools have been very greatly improved in terms of facilities, supplies and surrounding areas."

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Forsyth Co., North Carolina."

Conclusions of a study on some of the effects on transportation in Florida school districts during the school sessions 1965-66 and 1970-71:

1. The study indicates that the increase due to desegregation represents a very small proportion of the total number of children transported.
2. When schools are phased out as a result of desegregation, the phased out schools are almost always the black schools.
3. Transportation costs adjusted for inflation decrease after desegregation because of the discontinuance of the dual system of transportation. The transporation system becomes more efficient by transporting more pupils per bus and by making more trips per bus.

13. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

4. The percentages of total school operating budget spent for transportation decreases after desegregation because of less duplication of services.

—"Busing in Florida: Before and After," Eldridge Gendon. *Integrated Education,* March-April, 1972, p. 6.

CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG, NORTH CAROLINA, 1971-72

School population of 24,890 with 31.3 per cent black.

The desegregation plan created pie-shaped attendance zones extending outward from the center of Charlotte. A combination of zoning, pairing, and of grouping peripheral schools still did not affect nine inner city black schools and 24 suburban white schools. These were especially grouped so that black students in grades 1 to 4 travelled to outlying white schools and white students grades 5 and 6 went to inner city black schools. Black students are bearing the major burden of busing.

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina."

13. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

PONTIAC, MICHIGAN, 1971-72

The desegregation plan excludes kindergartens, which remain in the neighborhood schools, and high schools, which were integrated by a change in zoning in 1970.

All students from grades 1 through 9 are in schools that have between 20 and 40 per cent black pupils. The schools are clustered and grades are grouped: 1-3, 4-6, 7-9. Cross city busing program of 9,619 students who travelled four miles per average trip, about 20 minutes each way, is so designed that all students remain together throughout their school years, attending different schools for grades 1-3, 4-6, and 7-9.

The cost of busing, $370,000, and remodeling the former black school, $125,000, was part of the desegregation budget.

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Pontiac, Michigan."

13. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA, 1970-71

The school population has 17,859 (58.3%) white students, 9,173 (30%) black, and 3,590 (11.1%) other minorities.

In the plan for desegregation, the city was divided into four areas, each racially/ethnically balanced. There are no more than 65 per cent and no less than 47 per cent of the white students in each elementary school. 12,882 students, or nearly 50 per cent travelled 3,957 miles daily with the average trip lasting 20 minutes. The plan was designed so elementary school children attend schools and ride the bus with other neighborhood children to a school not far away.

—*Hearings* on H.J. Res. 620, before the Subcommittee no. 5 of U.S. House Committee on Judiciary, March 1, 1972, appendices to testimony of Theodore M. Hesburgh, Chairman, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Appendix C, "Public School Desegregation in Pasadena, California."

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14. THERE WAS NO EMOTIONAL OUTCRY AND NO DEMANDS FOR RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION FROM CONGRESS OR THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISORS WHEN WHITE AND BLACK CHILDREN WERE (AND ARE) BEING TRANSPORTED LONG DISTANCES, AT GREATER COST FOR PURPOSES OF MAINTAINING RACIALLY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS.

In the year before the *Brown* decision there were numerous suits filed by Negro parents against the school boards for assigning their children to segregated schools far from their neighborhood. The courts repeatedly decided against the parents.

—*Race and Place: A Legal History of the Neighborhood School,* Meyer Weinberg. Wash., G.O.P., 1967, p. 92.

From 1929 to 1954 there was no outcry against busing. Busing made possible the transition from the one-room schoolhouse to the consolidated school. The outcry against busing only began when it was used to mix white with colored, affluent with poor.

—"Moving the Constitution to the Back of the Bus," I. F. Stone. *New York Review of Books,* April 20, 1972, p. 8.

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14. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

"Any Southerner, with exceptions allowed, who says he's against cross-busing is a liar. This is based on the fact that the whole Southern school system was based on cross-busing—cross-busing to segregate, that is. It was only when cross-busing entered the picture to integrate did the South suddenly oppose it. I was bused sixteen miles each way to a senior high school from Roseland to Vero Beach, Florida. On the way to my white high school I passed a half-mile from a black school, but went another several miles to the white school. This, gentlemen, was cross-busing at its best, and I liked it. My mother liked it, and my whole town liked it—because it was to segregate.

"In fact, we cross-bused in the Dade County schools until four years ago, and not a single person, either Northerners or Southerners, ever complained to me about it. Again, because it was for segregation."

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd session, June 23, 1970. Testimony of G. Holmes Braddock, Chairman, Dade County, Florida, School Board, pt. 3B, p. 1447.

15. FIFTEEN STATES PERMIT THE TRANSPORTATION OF PUPILS TO PRIVATE AND OTHER NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS AT PUBLIC EXPENSE.

Most states do not permit free transporation to private schools. Those states which permit it are:

1. Alabama
2. California
3. Illinois
4. Kansas
5. Kentucky
6. Louisiana
7. Maryland
8. Massachusetts
9. Michigan
10. New Hampshire
11. New Jersey
12. New Mexico
13. New York
14. Oregon
15. Rhode Island

—*The Rand McNally Handbook of Education*. Arthur W. Foshay, ed., Chicago, Rand McNally Pub. Co., 1963, p. 61.

16. NONE OF THE PRESENTLY PROPOSED LEGISLATION SEEKS TO PROHIBIT THE USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS TO TRANSPORT PUPILS TO PRIVATE AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS—AND TO RACIALLY SEGREGATED PRIVATE "ACADEMIES."

In New York City 116,000 children are bused each day to schools. Of these, 30,000 are non-public school children.

—"Bus Companies Will Seek Exemption," Donald Janson. New York *Times,* Sept. 12, 1971, p. 36.

Additional documentation can be found under Findings, 4, 10 and 15.

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17. TRANSPORTATION TO SCHOOL BY MEANS OF SCHOOL BUSES IS THE SAFEST MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION IN THE NATION—BOTH IN TERMS OF ACCIDENT AND FATALITY RATES.

The school bus industry claims to be the safest mode of transportation in the nation.

—"Editorial," Larry Moore. *School Bus Fleet,* Dec. 1971-Jan. 1972, p. 52.

According to the National Safety Council, in 1968 the occupant death rate per 100 million passenger miles was 0.06 for school buses as compared with 0.24 for regular buses and 2.40 for automobiles.

—"Facts About School Buses." *School Management,* April 1971, p. 11.

In 1965 the school bus accident total was 32,000. 22,000 were collisions with other vehicles; 3,000 were collisions with fixed objects; 2,500 were non-collision accidents. This averages 640 accidents per state, giving an accident rate of 18 plus per million miles.

—"Types, Causes and Results of School Bus Accidents." Paul T. Stewart, prepared for the Association of School Business Officials Conference, Atlantic City, Oct. 11, 1966, p. 2.

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18. THERE IS EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE THAT STUDENTS THEMSELVES DO NOT OBJECT TO OR ARE IN ANY WAY HARMED BY THE FACT OF BEING TRANSPORTED TO SCHOOL BY BUS.

A summary of a study to examine the racial climate of desegregated schools reports that among the pupils who were faced with entering a desegregated school for the first time "busing ranked last of the six possible problem areas for blacks and fourth out of six for whites." Most of the children who reported changing their opinion during the school year became more favorably disposed to interracial busing.

—Summary of "Evaluation of the the Emergency School Assistance Program," Robert York. U.S. Office of Education, Feb. 22, 1972. p. 4, footnote 2.

". . . there is no solid evidence of which I am aware which indicates that busing is harmful to children . . .," social psychologist Thomas Pettigrew.

—*Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, 91st Congress, 2nd session, May 13, 1970. Testimony of Thomas Pettigrew, Professor of Social Psychology, Harvard University, pt. 2, p. 749.

19. ALTHOUGH MORE RESEARCH IS NEEDED AND UNDER WAY, THE PRESENT EVIDENCE INDICATES THAT BLACK STUDENTS TRANSPORTED TO DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS GAIN ACADEMICALLY—AND WHITE STUDENTS MAINTAIN THEIR USUAL ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE.

In the evaluations of Project Concern, Hartford, suburban teachers report 70 per cent of the children bused in make superior social adjustment, 12 per cent make poor adjustment (on a 3 point scale). There was an average I.Q. growth of 6.5 points.

Growth pattern in achievement and mental ability were clearly and significantly superior to the controls in the inner city, including those controls who are receiving intensive compensatory assistance. There is no evidence to support claims of psychological trauma among participants and no evidence that the quality of achievement among white pupils is depressed.

Teachers are better able to cope with educational disadvantages of inner city non-whites when these children constitute less than 25 per cent of the class. Evidence shows that children who were bused made greater gains in the primary grades.

—"The Busing of Students for Equal Opportunities," Thomas W. Mahan. *Journal of Negro Education,* Summer 1968, p. 291-300.

19. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

In Evanston, Illinois, a three-year survey of the integration plan demonstrated improved achievement by black children and normal performance by white children. The black children who were bused to school improved even more than the black children who walked.

—*Integration in Evanston, 1967-71: A Longitudinal Evaluation,* by Jayjia Hsi, Princeton, Educational Testing Service, 1971, p. 43.

A recent Hartford survey showed that black fourth-graders bused to the suburbs were reading at a level four months behind their white classmates, but nine months ahead of their counter-parts in the city.

—"Driving Toward Integration." *Newsweek,* March 13, 1972, p. 23.

A one-year program (city not given) bused 38 disadvantaged city children to suburban schools in grades 1 and 2. Results showed that first graders displayed significantly higher average gains than did non-bused students.

—*Educating Disadvantaged Urban Children in Suburban Schools: An Evaluation,* S. M. Zdep, Princeton, Educational Testing Service, 1970, p. 14.

19. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

The scholastic achievement of white children was not affected when Negro children were bused to the schools in Denver, Colorado. When 900 white students were tested in the second, third, and fourth grades after desegregation, there were no significant changes in test scores.

—"Do Bused Negro Children Affect Achievement of Non-Negro Children?" Bonnie Todd Scudder and Stephen Jurs. *Integrated Education,* March-April, 1971, p. 30-34.

20. THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE COMMISSIONED, BUT DID NOT RELEASE, A STUDY OF BUSING WHICH INDICATED THAT THERE COULD BE ALMOST COMPLETE DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, EVEN IN SOME LARGE CITIES, WITHIN PRACTICAL LIMITS OF TRAVEL TIME AND COST.

Findings of this report, as summarized:

Publicly available data which took into account local geographic and demographic factors, as well as the amount of school transportation, were analyzed for the possible alternatives for desegregation in 29 cities—including Atlanta, Cleveland, Denver, Kansas City, Miami (Dade County), San Francisco, and St. Louis.

The massive data collection and processing, as well as the computer analysis, was subcontracted by the Lambda Corporation to the Concord Research Corporation under a prime contract with HEW.

Preliminary results indicated that:

1. Present racial isolation of urban minority groups is not as serious a barrier to school desegregation as has been usually assumed.
2. Substantial decreases in racial isolation can be accomplished in most school districts without busing any student who could walk to school.
3. Junior high schools and high schools can be improved more than elementary schools in degree of desegregation because many older students are already bused or use public transportation.

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20. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

4. The results suggest that additional busing to provide almost complete desegregation can be as little as one-third to one-quarter of the amount estimated by conventional rule-of-the-thumb techniques.
5. Typically, the amount of desegregation that can be achieved reaches a point of diminishing returns so that additional busing produces little change.
6. Increases in the level of desegregation can be achieved without appreciable increases in the number of majority students transported by bus.

Because HEW had set the condition that maximum walking distance be three-quarters of a mile—many cities require greater distances for even elementary school children—the present results, therefore, may overemphasize the amount of transportation required for desegregation.

One city was chosen to study sensitivity to additional assumptions—that minority and majority students in the same neighborhood should be assigned to the same school and that travel time be minimized (not the 35 minute limit imposed initially by HEW). There were no differences in the findings under the differing assumptions.

—*School Desegregation With Minimum Busing*. Lambda Corporation. A report to the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Dec. 10, 1971.

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20. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

"Behind the scenes in Washington there is now circulating an explosive document known as the Lambda study. . . . Its findings, which will here be made public for the first time I think, summarize . . . the only systematic attempt ever made to study the ratio between busing of students and desegregation of schools.

"Measured against the analysis in the Lambda report . . . the new Nixon anti-busing package is not nearly as severe as Nixon had made it seem. Which is probably the reason the Administration has been at such pains to keep the country in the dark about the Lambda report."

—"The Lambda Study," Joseph Kraft. Washington *Post,* April 4, 1972, p. A19.

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21. THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL SCHOOL FUNDS FROM CONGRESS, ACCOMPANING HIS REQUEST FOR A BUSING MORATORIUM, IGNORED THE EVIDENCE THAT COMPENSATORY EDUCATION—THE SYSTEM OF MERELY PROVIDING FUNDS FOR POVERTY AREAS TO UPGRADE EDUCATION—HAS GENERALLY FAILED.

"The act I propose would concentrate federal school aid funds on the areas of greatest educational need. That would mean directing over two and a half billion dollars in the next year mainly toward improving the education of children from poor families."

—"Transcript of Nixon's Statement on School Busing," Richard M. Nixon. New York *Times,* March 17, 1972, p. 22.

"I have noted on one of the networks . . . a very thoughtful series to the effect that compensatory education is a failure. We looked into that. As a matter of fact, on the basis in which it has been used up to this point of a shotgun approach . . . it has not worked."

—"Transcript of the President's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Matters," Richard M. Nixon, New York *Times,* March 25, 1972, p. 12.

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21. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

A survey of all identifiable compensatory education programs (from kindergarten to high school) revealed that only two to three per cent of these would be called successful. Follow-up studies show that only a third of those had sustained achievement success.

—*Further Examination of Exemplary Programs for Educating Disadvantaged Children.* American Institutes for Research. Palo Alto, 1971.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided millions of dollars to New York City in the following amounts:

1971-1972	$149,000,000
1970-1971	128,000,000
1969-1970	106,000,000
1968-1969	72,000,000
1967-1968	70,402,336
1966-1967	69,790,350
1965-1966	48,463,141

—New York City Board of Education.

21. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

"Such positive gains as a liking for school and learning, increased self-esteem, respect for others, and improved ability to work harmoniously in groups were noted as direct results of the MES methods. At the same time, the failure of the program to bring about steadily higher achievement in the fundamental skills of reading and arithmetic as the pupils progress through the middle grades in elementary school was revealed."

—"Evaluation Report," 1968-1969, Psychological Corporation, p. 139.

A definitive statement about the relationship between school expenditures and achievement in a study of 150 schools in New York City (not MES schools) where 90 per cent of the student population was non-white appears below:

"Regardless of the variations in socioeconomic characteristics of the students in these 150 schools, there is no statistical correlation between the aggregated amounts of money spent per pupil and the improvement in reading scores from one year to the next. In other words, in these 150 schools preliminary *evidence does not appear to indicate that an expenditure of one amount is any more effective in changing a pupil's level of achievement than an expenditure of another.*

"The lack of correlation in black/Puerto Rican schools between changes in achievement and the absolute level of quantitative factors such as higher salaries, experienced teachers, or school equipment

(as indicated by per capita cost figures) raises the question of whether or not continued indiscriminate funding of these items will in and of itself necessarily increase educational output proportionately."

—*Public Education in New York City,* First National City Bank, Public Affairs Committee. New York, 1969, p. 18.

(Emphasis our own)

"The primary goal of MES throughout the six years of the program's existence has been to provide quality education in the broadest sense for disadvantaged New York City children. In one major respect, the evaluators judged that it achieved this objective to a very large extent this year; in another, the results were less conclusive. The evaluators appraised MES as having greatly enhanced the pupils' social understanding, self-confidence, and desire to learn. Most of the pupils' parents who expressed their views in questionnaire responses and interviews reported that their children were better adjusted to their homes and communities as a result of their school advantages.

"On the other hand, MES did not improve basic reading and arithmetic skills as much as had been expected. The mean gains of fifth graders on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests over the past two years showed about the same rate of progress as that of children in the comparison schools. In fact, most of the slight differences between the average gains were in favor of the comparison schools.

21. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

While the gains for both were respectable, the failure of the MES pupils to make significantly greater gains did not fulfill the expectations of the MES proponents who thought that the reading and arithmetic abilities of students would advance subsantially as a result of the benefits provided by MES's small classes and special services."

—"Evaluation Report," 1969-1970, Psychological Corporation, p. iii-iv.

Despite this infusion of funds to ghetto schools, the predominantly non-white schools had reading scores 2½ years below the national norm while the predominantly white schools were above the norm by an equivalent amount. This bi-modal curve characteristic of New York City schools has prevailed since 1958 with the current gap in reading between white and black students wider than ever before.

—*Persistence of Achievement Retardation in New York State Schools,* Annie Stein New York State Commission on Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, (Fleischmann Commission), Oct. 1971.

The More Effective Schools program in New York City has been one of the largest (and most widely publicized) Title I projects in the country. A host of supportive services was provided: small classes, specialized personnel (including guidance and medical services), heterogeneous grouping, and teacher training.

21. FINDINGS CONTINUED . . .

Although there were several evaluations which generated controversy, the following quotation describes the essentially negative findings in so far as scholastic achievement is concerned:

"Equally clear are the data which indicate that the MES program has made no significant difference in the functioning of children, whether this was measured by observers rating what children did in class and how they do it, or whether it was measured by children's ability in mathematics or reading on standardized classes. . . . The achievement test data showed that the profiles of the MES schools were no different than the profiles of these same schools before the program was instituted."

—"Expansion of the MES Program," David J. Fox. N.Y., Center for Urban Education, p. 121.

CONCLUSION

These facts lead to the conclusion that all proposed legislation or constitutional amendments addressed specifically to the prohibition of transportation for purposes of desegregation of schools would be racially restrictive legislation. This is true unless such legislation also prohibited the transportation at public expense of pupils to public, private and parochial schools for all purposes for which they are now being transported.

These facts also strongly suggest that specific prohibition of transportation of children for purposes of school desegregation would be violative of the letter and the spirit of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment; would neutralize any further effect of the *Brown* decision of 1954; and probably of crucial importance, would be an invitation to the passage of restrictive legislation interfering with the obligation of the federal courts to protect the rights of religious minorities, political minorities, and all dissidents from the immediate passions and prejudices of the majority and from the political and power expedient motivations of legislators and governmental officials. These consequences pose a serious threat to those democratic safeguards inherent in the United States Constitution and, particularly the Bill of Rights. These are threats to all Americans.

IN THE MATTER OF BUSING

KENNETH B. CLARK

From a MARC Memorandum

(A condensed version appeared in the New York *Times*, March 10, 1972)

As one examines the various antibusing legislation and constitutional amendments now being discussed in the United States Senate and in the White House, a common denominator for an inherent constitutional and moral crisis emerges. All of these proposals, including the Scott-Mansfield compromise, have as their central fact that for the first time since the Emancipation Proclamation, the legislative and executive branches of the federal government are seriously entertaining action to limit the rights of racial minorities to unqualified equality of opportunity—and are also attempting to limit the duty of the federal courts to assure and protect these rights.

In past discussions concerning the similarities and differences between the American and South African forms of racial inhumanity, Americans—including this writer—could argue with some persuasive sincerity and legal logic that American racism was by no means as malignant because it was not reinforced by the legislative and official police power of the federal government. Indeed, up to the present it could be argued that American racism is contrary to the United States Constitution and is violative of federal and state civil rights laws.

Any of the present antibusing proposals if enacted into law will destroy this argument and any ethical distinctions between the racism of the United States and South Africa. Antibusing legislation will be racially restrictive and regressive. A

constitutional amendment to prohibit the busing of children for the desegregation of the public schools would pervert and demean the Constitution of the United States and would make it an instrument for the perpetuation of racism rather than a protector of the rights of all American citizens. Any attempt to curtail the power of a judicial branch of the federal government to protect the rights of minorities against the current passions and prejudices of the majorities is a threat to the foundations of a dynamic democracy, an invitation to authoritarian government and a serious danger to the civil rights and liberties of all citizens. These tragic consequences would eventually destroy any temporary political gains for those who are now proposing antibusing legislation or less severe compromises. A turn toward the South African pattern of legally enforced *apartheid*—whether it be flagrant or subtle, malignant or benign in intent—tends to become uncontrollable. On that road the promises of democracy soon become supplanted by political cynicism, intensified inhumanity and a governmentally enforced police-state form of racism.

Desegregation of public schools and its implications for social stability and democratic education are matters of profound importance. Because of their profound importance, the current discussions must be conducted in terms of the facts and with the objective of making American public schools instruments for strengthening, rather than threatening, American democracy.

Given the facts presented here, those who are now seeking to prohibit the transportation of students for purposes of school desegregation have the burden of demonstrating that it is legally and morally possible to block this specific form of busing at the same time that all other forms of school busing would be permitted.

They must demonstrate also that it is possible to restrict or prohibit busing for purposes of racial balance without retarding, blocking or reversing present attempts to reorganize pub-

lic education from a racially segregated to a non-segregated system.

Above all, they must demonstrate that the prohibition of busing for the purposes of racial desegregation is not in fact an attempt to reverse the *Brown* decision—if not an insidious attempt to repeal the essential spirit and letter of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

They must also demonstrate that the prohibition of busing for the purposes of school desegregation would not constrict the rights, responsibilities and flexibility of local and state boards of education to govern and reorganize their school districts in order to obtain maximum efficiency and economy of the educational process. They must demonstrate that there would be no interference with the rights of school boards to plan and operate educational parks, or Princeton plans; to effect the consolidation or centralization of vocational, academic, specialized and comprehensive high schools; and to organize and operate cooperative educational service centers.

Neither political expediency, nor the often violated emotional slogans concerning the sanctity of the "neighborhood school" or the many forms of tribalism can be permitted to interfere with the rights of American children to that quality of education which would prepare them to live and contribute to a more humane world of the future.

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This bibliography was compiled under the direction of Betty Jo Jenkins, Library Consultant, and Susan Phillis, Acting Librarian.

Part I—*Busing and Education*—is arranged in alphabetical order. Part II—*An Annotated Bibliography of Articles and Reports*—is arranged in chronological order. Part I covers materials from 1964 to the present, with an emphasis on the past three years; selected items from this list are starred and are annotated in Part II. Most citations from the text are included in the bibliography, although they are arranged here by author's last name, rather than by title.

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White, D. A. "Effects of busing on urban school students." *Educational Leadership,* v.29, Dec. 1971, p.255-7.

*"Who wants busing? No one, the way it looks; protests come from all sections of the country." *Education Summary,* Sept. 17, 1972, p.3.

*Wilcox, Preston. "Integration or separatism in education: K-12." *Integrated Education,* v.8, Jan.-Feb. 1970, p.23-33.

Winston, Judith A. *Desegregating urban schools: educational equality/ quality in San Francisco public schools*. Wash., Council of the Great City Schools, 1970.

*Woodcock, Leonard. "Busing—a code word." New York *Times,* Feb. 23, 1972, p.42.

York, Robert. "Summary of 'Evaluation of the emergency school assistance program.'" U.S. Office of Education, Feb. 22, 1972, 8p.

*"You'll have to do some busing." *Education Summary,* Aug. 20, 1971, p.1.

Zamoff, Richard B. *Attitude change and characteristics of teachers participating in Glen Cove, New York: a Glen Cove Study Project Report*. N.Y., Center for Urban Education, 1967.

Zdep, S. M. *Educating disadvantaged urban children in suburban schools: an evaluation*. Princeton, Educational Testing Service, 1970.

———. and Diane Joyce. *The Newark-Verona plan for sharing educational opportunity: a study of the effectiveness of educating urban children in a suburban school district*. Princeton, N.J., Educational Testing Service, 1969.

*Zwerdling, Daniel. "Block those buses." *New Republic,* v.165, Oct. 23, 1971, p.14-17.

PART II

Dodson, Dan W. "Crisis in the public schools: racial segregation northern style." *New York Council for American Unity,* 1965, 63p.

A report of the struggle for desegregation in two suburban communities, New Rochelle (1957-63) and Mt. Vernon, New York (1963-64).

Ohio Civil Rights Commission. "Racial imbalance in the public schools—a survey of legal developments," 1965.

This pamphlet deals with post-Brown legal cases involving racially imbalanced schools in New Rochelle, New York; Hillsboro, Ohio; Kenston, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Springfield, Mass.; California, New Jersey, and New York.

Dodson, Dan W. "The neighborhood school: a hard assessment." Speech delivered at the American Association of School Administration, Atlantic City, N.J., Feb. 1967.

The author argues the case against the neighborhood school concept and notes that the reasons given in favor of it are not educational, but political. Through the use of the neighborhood school concept, the upper strata of the society can shield themselves from sharing their benefits with the lower strata.

Teele, James E., Ellen Jackson and Clara Mayo. "Family experiences in Operation Exodus." Monograph Series, *Community Mental Health Journal,* No. 3, 1967.

This monograph deals with the motivations and experiences of Negro parents who bused their children from the all-black Roxbury section of Boston to predominantly white schools in other sections of Boston.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. *Racial isolation in the public schools.* v.1, Wash., D.C., G.P.O., 1967.

This report on race and education was prepared at the request of President Johnson. The findings as reported here show that racial isolation in the public schools is intense throughout the United States and is most severe in the nation's metropolitan areas where two-thirds of the Negro and white population now live. The conditions that result in injustices to children are described. The effects of compensatory education programs in integrated and segregated schools are discussed.

Weinberg, Meyer. *Race and place: a legal history of the neighborhood school.* Wash., D.C., G.P.O., 1967, 103p.

This report is an examination of the issue of the neighborhood school in the light of legal history with principal attention given to districting and admission to or exclusion of students from specific schools. The author suggests that voting reapportionment guidelines be applied to education so that racially biased and overcrowded districts could be eliminated and equal opportunities for all children to get a decent education could be demanded as a legal right.

Bouma, Donald H. and James Hoffman. *The dynamics of school integration: problems and approaches in a northern city.* Grand Rapids, Mich., William B. Eerdmans, 1968, p.124-128.

Presents arguments made by teachers in a Northern community who object to busing on the grounds that it destroys the concept of the "neighborhood school."

Levine, Daniel U. "The integration-compensatory education controversy." *Education Forum.* v.32, March 1968, p.323-332.

The author believes that integration is more likely to result in improved academic performance on the part of the disadvantaged Negro child than is a compensatory education program, though either approach can have some positive effect, providing it is well implemented.

Mahan, Thomas W. "The busing of students for equal opportunities." *Journal of Negro Education,* Summer, 1968, p.291-300.

An early survey of four attempts to introduce quality education by way of busing. The urban communities involved are Boston, Hartford, Rochester and New York.

Melville, Keith. *School desegregation plan/Berkeley, California.* New York, Center for Urban Education, 1970.

A history, description and evaluation of the desegregated elementary schools in Berkeley, Calif. The conclusion reached from studying Berkeley's desegregation process is: the cost of massive school desegregation in this community was not nearly so great as its critics predicted and that two-way busing has been a successful tool for ending racial imbalance.

Heath, G. Louis. "De facto segregation in a California city." *Integrated Education,* v.8, Jan.-Feb., 1970, p.3-11.

Discusses problems of desegregation in Richmond, Calif. A school board which supported busing was defeated. Polemics focused on the "neighborhood schools" concept.

Mahan, Aline M. and Thomas W. Mahan. "Changes in cognitive style: an analysis of the impact of white suburban schools on inner city children." *Integrated Education,* v.8, Jan.-Feb., 1970, p.58-61.

Inner-city children who were bused as part of Project Concern in Hartford showed major growth in several areas of cognitive development.

Wilcox, Preston. "Integration or separatism in education: K-12." *Integrated Education,* v.8, Jan.-Feb., 1970, p.23-33.

Asserts that integrated education will not help black students to overcome their basic problem of a negative self-concept.

Fogel, Barbara R. "On the matter of busing: a staff memorandum from The Center for Urban Education." Feb. 1970, 8p.

This memo states, "high quality education for all children requires desegregated schools. It also requires attention to the needs of each child within these schools. Racial balance, like better teaching, is a component of good education and can be achieved by firm and committed leadership. Children must ride buses to get to better schools, they will do so as they have always done in the past when they sought education at the end of the bus ride."

"Crossroads for desegregation." *Saturday Review,* v.53, March 21, 1970, p.76-77.

Discusses Senators Ribicoff and Stennis's proposals for uniform school integration standards throughout the country.

Stief, William. "Desegregation rides exposes northern 'guilt feelings,'" *Nation's Schools,* v.85. April, 1970, p.26-27.

A brief look at Sen. John Stennis' amendment which asks that school desegregation policies be consistent throughout the country.

"The controversy over school busing." *Urban Crisis Monitor,* April 10, 1970, p.5-14.

Gives quotations from government officials, judges, educators, parents and students illustrating the varying opinions on the busing subject. Describes legislative, court and local school board action across the country on busing programs.

Jensen, Arthur. "Parent and teacher attitudes toward integration and busing." *Research Resume.* California Teachers Association, May, 1970.

Discusses the busing for desegregation program in Berkeley. Both black and white children are bused out of their own neighborhoods. Response from students, parents and teachers has been favorable.

Levine, Leonard and Kitty Griffith. "The busing myth: seg academies bus more children, and further." *South Today,* May, 1970, p.7.

This article points out that many Southern politicians who cry loudest about busing involved in integration plans have no fear of busing if it is to maintain segregation. The *South Today* survey reports that of 10 "segregation academies" sampled, 62 per cent of the pupils are bused an average of 17.7 miles per day.

Mardian, Robert C. "School desegregation." *Integrated Education,* v.8, May-June, 1970, p.15-22.

Asserts that busing should be used to achieve a unitary school system in areas where it is already being used to maintain segregation.

Bickel, Alexander M. "Desegregation: where do we go from here?" *Phi Delta Kappan,* v.51, June 1970, p.518-522.

Discusses the South's achievement and the North's failure in desegregating public schools. Bickel does not advocate large-scale busing to eliminate the remaining all-black and all-white schools. He suggests instead that the cost of such programs be channeled into improving existing schools.

"Forced busing vetoed by 90 per cent of schoolmen." *Nation's Schools,* v.85, June, 1970, p.100.

Results from the month's opinion poll of school administrators showed that 90 per cent believe busing should not be implemented to achieve desegregation even if it means a weakening of the neighborhood concept.

Grieder, Calvin. "Busing: wrong prescription for discrimination ills." *Nation's Schools,* v.85, June, 1970, p.9.

Busing is opposed for early childhood and elementary education because (1) neighborhood schools are best for young children; (2) there is no clear-cut and incontrovertible evidence on the advantages to pupils; (3) money spent on bus purchase and operation should be spent on improving education in substandard neighborhoods; (4) busing for desegregation is using children to treat social and economic problems for which they have no responsibility.

Beckler, John. "Desegregation: connecting the dots." *School Management.* v.14, July 1970, p.4.

A review and analysis of the pronouncements of President Nixon, various officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the actions of the Justice Department. Concludes that the policy the Administration is trying to shape on desegregation and busing remains unclear.

"Fall preview." *Saturday Review,* v.53, July 18, 1970, p.54.

Asserts that the Nixon Administration was calling for total school integration while tacitly encouraging slowed, or halted, integration.

Samuels, Gertrude. "How school busing works in one town." *New York Times Magazine,* Sept. 27, 1970.

A report of the busing program in Berkeley, begun in September, 1968. Many of the early objections have been overcome, since less than half the students are using buses, and no one travels more than half an hour each way. The actual cost of busing is negligible—less than one per cent of school budget or 45 cents a day, per pupil.

Batten, James K. "Desegregation: a view from Washington." *Integrated Education,* v.8, Sept.-Oct., 1970, p.36-41.

Discards the role of HEW's Office of Civil Rights in the desegregation of public school systems. Article is tangential to busing issue.

Amaker, Norman. "Public school desegregation, legal perspectives." *Negro History Bulletin,* Nov. 1970, p.174.

Discusses the meaning of the *Brown* decision and those cases which led to it and the necessity for lawyers, judges and others who are dedicated to the rule of law to take the responsibility to see that the law is upheld.

Cooper, Charles R. "Four key issues in the 1969-70 school integration crisis," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals,* v. 54, Nov. 1970, p.40-57.

Analysis and opinion on the current integration crisis. Clarifies key terms now in use: desegregation, integration, segregation, and resegregation, and states the legal and political patterns in the busing con-

troversy. The author feels that the school desegregation issue is a major part of a much larger more crucial issue, that of bringing the races together in this country.

Clark, Kenneth. "The failure: three experts discuss it and what could be done." *South Today,* v.2, Dec. 1970, p.4, 10.

As part of a general discussion of integration in education, Clark states that busing is being used more extensively to insure segregated schools.

Anderson, Robert E., Jr., ed., *The South and her children: school desegregation 1970-1971.* Atlanta Ga., Southern Regional Council, 1971.

Studies and an assessment of the continuing segregated academy movement, including court action and other crucial issues arising from the experiences of the selected communities.

Ahola, Richard R. *Pupil transportation safety.* University of the State of New York, State Education Department, Division of Education Management Services, Albany, N.Y. 1971. 27p.

Pupil transportation safety is dealt with here in terms of statistics on vehicles, daily mileage, pupils transported, approximate cost and comparative transport fatalities, training and requirements for school bus drivers and construction requirements for the school bus itself.

Burke, Edmund. *School business management handbook, no. 6, transportation.* University of the State of New York, State Education Department, Bureau of Special Education Management Services, Albany, N.Y. 1971. 134p.

This handbook is designed as a guide for all those who may be involved in the administration or management of pupil transportation in New York State. It is especially geared to be helpful in central, union free, and city districts under 125,000 population. Contains information on planning, personnel, purchasing, insurance, operation, maintenance, health and safety, special services (handicapped) and accounting.

Satz, Arthur and Martin Hoffman. *Project Concern/Hartford Conn.* N.Y. Center for Urban Education, 1971.

This is an evaluative report on the one-way busing program begun in 1966 to attack two major and related problems of the city's schools: racial imbalance and poverty. Project Concern is expanding and there is some persuasive data indicating that the improvement of education for minority group children has improved in an integrated setting.

"Connecticut study finds 'Project Concern' pupils gaining." *Education Daily,* Jan. 14, 1971, p.2-3.

A program in Hartford, Conn., which "buses inner-city children to suburban schools, is bringing the reading scores of participating students closer and closer to national norms." This is the result of a three-year summary evaluation by Thomas Crane for the state education department. Details of the evaluation results are given here.

Meyers, Phyllis. "Boston's METCO: what to do until the solution arrives." *City,* v.5, Jan.-Feb. 1971, p.80-81.

Discusses successful busing program in Boston. There has been movement toward a community control position in the black community since METCO was started in 1966. There are still more willing students than places in the program. METCO buses inner-city children to empty seats in suburban schools.

"Who wants busing? No one, the way it looks; protests come from all sections of the country." *Education Summary,* Sept. 17, 1971, p.3.

An account of conflicting statements by the Administration and HEW officials. Report of Florida Governor Reubin Askew's sensible remarks: "for busing certainly is an artificial and inadequate instrument of change. . . . Yet the law demands, and rightly so, that we put an end to segregation in our society. We must demonstrate good faith in doing just that."

Beckler, John. "Try, try again with money for school desegregation." *School Management,* v.15, March 1971, p.4.

A review of the new education program put forward by the Administration and the difficulties it met in the 91st Congress.

Reutter, E. Edmund. "Desegregation: where the law stands today." *Nation's Schools,* v.87, March 1971, p.59-60+.

A review of the role of the courts in educational policy-making and administration when boards of education and school administrators fail to correct de jure segregation.

Scudder, Bonnie Todd and Stephen Jurs. "Do bused Negro children affect achievement of non-Negro children?" *Integrated Education.* v.9, March-April 1971, p.30-34.

Results of a study on children in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th grades of Denver, Colorado, public schools showed significantly that the presence of bused Negro children in formerly predominantly white schools did not have an adverse effect on the academic achievement of the non-Negro children.

"The Wakefield decision." *Integrated Education,* v.9, March-April 1971, p.35-39.

On January 26, 1971, the California Supreme Court ruled that Section 1009.5 (the Wakefield Bill-requiring parental permission for pupil transportation) forbade a requirement that any specific mode of transportation be used by students; but viewed the law as upholding the right of a school board to assign students to specific schools. This article contains extracts from this decision.

Cooper, Charles R. "An educator looks at busing." *The National Elementary School Principal,* v.50, April 1971, p.26-31.

The real reason the bus has come to attract so much attention is that it remains the most obvious and most expeditious way to achieve fully integrated schools within a school district. The evidence from research findings on the effects of segregated schools on minority youngsters points out that the only way to achieve quality education for *all* Americans is to send them to the same schools.

"Facts about school buses." *School Management,* v.15, April 1971, p.10-11.

According to the U.S. Dept. of Transportation, 42 per cent or 19

million students regularly ride 245,000 school vehicles. Expenditures for the total operation are $1,517,900 for the 1970-71 school year.

"Here, there and everywhere." *School Management,* v.15, April 1971, p.12-13.

Discusses the use of two-way radios between school bus drivers and schools.

Osborne, John. "Busing and politics." *The New Republic,* May 29, 1971, p.19-20.

A discussion of the political strategy-huddling of President Nixon, Secretary of HEW Richardson and Attorney General Mitchell over the court decisions in North Carolina and Alabama requiring more stringent and extensive measures to eliminate the remnants of racial segregation in the South's public schools. A politically safe solution is sought to the desegregation of the Austin, Texas, schools.

"Green light for busing." *Saturday Review,* v.54, May 22, 1971, p.68-69.

Discusses *Swann v. Board of Education of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina* decision, which stated that busing is a constitutional means of desegregating. Also discusses effects of the decision on Congress.

"Hartford's 'Project Concern' may be another treadmill." *Education Daily.* May 28, 1971, p.4-5.

In a report by Arthur Satz and Martin Hoffman for the Center for Urban Education, major questions were raised concerning the success of "Project Concern." The program buses black and Puerto Rican children from inner-city schools to suburban schools around Hartford. Among problems cited are: rise in tuition costs in suburbs; special curriculum materials not developed; suburbs, rather than Hartford schools, hiring supportive teachers; inadequate evaluation of student's progress.

Beckler, John. "Busing decision." *School Management,* v.15, June 1971, p.8.

A brief account of the impact of the Supreme Court's decision upholding the court-ordered busing program in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system. Although the court's deliberations are a carefully guarded secret, it is suggested that there were divided opinions but, the justices were able to compromise these differences and speak with one voice on so vital a public question. See *School Management,* December, 1970, p.4, for a review of the test cases the Court heard in October.

Osborne, John. "Austin story." *The New Republic,* Aug. 21, 1971, p.13-15.

Exposure of the two-faced nature of President Nixon's stance on favoring desegregation yet opposing busing using the Austin, Texas, school segregation program as example.

"Implementing the Brown decision." *National Journal,* June 19, 1971, p.1307.

A review of the United States Supreme Court's decision in *James E. Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina Board of Education* in four problem areas: racial balance, all-black schools, attendance zones, busing, de facto segregation.

Ravis, Howard. "The school district of Kankakee, Ill." *School Management,* v.15, Aug. 1971, p.18-21.

Discusses the successful integration in Kankakee, where in 1970 they began to bus half the 7,680 students.

"You'll have to do some busing." *Education Summary,* Aug. 20, 1971, p.1.

Synopsis of and reaction to President Nixon's statements following the U.S. District Court decision in Austin, Texas.

Wagoner, David E. "The north, not the south is where school desegregation isn't happening." *The American School Board Journal,* v.159, Sept. 1971, p.31-34.

Eighteen city school systems no longer have a white majority. These include N.Y., Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Detroit, and Los Angles; and there is virtually no evidence of any significant integration in suburban schools. Tables show how desegregation is going; how minorities line up in the public schools of our 51 largest cities; and percentages of black residents in the 40 largest U.S. cities. Summarizes important court cases on desegregation during the last two years.

"NAACP's Wilkins attacks Nixon busing stand at AFT convention." *The United Teacher,* v.8, Sept. 5, 1971, p.6.

Roy Wilkins cited the *Swann* decision as one reason the Nixon should maintain busing programs. He points out the discrepancy between Nixon's words and deeds.

Osborne, John. "Truth and busing." *The New Republic,* Sept. 11, 1971, p.11-12.

Continued contradictions in the Nixon stance on desegregation of the schools. While maintaining his strict constructionist approach and bowing to the integration decision of the Supreme Court, Nixon has promised to hold busing "to the minimum required by law." He also promised that no federal money would be used for busing, yet set up a system whereby schools receiving more transferred students would receive proportionately more federal funds.

"Dixie takes the bus." *Newsweek,* v.73, Sept. 13, 1971, p.14-15.

Discusses events in the busing controversy dealing with the opening of school in September, 1971.

"Progress in Jackson." *Newsweek,* v.78, Sept. 20, 1971, p.34.

Discusses the desegregation program in Jackson, Miss. The school board was forced to choose integration because of a cut-off in federal funds. They are combining desegregation with a drive for quality education.

Bourman, Ann P. "Busing: it can work." *American Teacher,* v.56, Oct. 1971, p.16-17.

Asserts that, while busing works well in many cases, it is only a first step to a desegregated society. Describes the successful busing program among several schools in Los Angeles.

Zwerdling, Daniel. "Block those buses." *New Republic,* v.165, Oct. 23, 1971, p.14-17.

Discusses the anti-busing movement in Pontiac, Michigan. The anti-busing organization is called National Action Group (NAG).

Brown, Cynthia. "Busing: leaving the driving to U.S. . . ." *Inequality in Education,* v.10, Dec. 1971, p.3-7.

A short critique of the Nixon Administration's stand against busing.

"Northern segregation—in Detroit, de jure." *Inequality in Education,* v.10, Dec. 1971, p.7-9.

A discussion of the Detroit school case in which Federal District Judge Stephen Roth ruled on September 27, 1971, that "both the State of Michigan and the Detroit Board of Education . . . committed acts which have been causal factors in the segregated condition of the public schools."

"Busing brings slight learning gains for black pupils in Evanston, but black-white discrepancy persists." *Education Summary,* Dec. 10, 1971, p.3.

A three-year study of school integration in Evanston, Ill., by Educational Testing Service shows that black children in third grade classes, after two years of integration, read at levels a fraction higher than the 1967 third-grade class. Their rate of gain was virtually the same as that of the white pupils, although the white pupils' scores were several points higher than those of the blacks to begin with.

"Busing opponents: new friends in the House." *Congressional Quarterly,* Dec. 11, 1971, p.2559-2562.

As some Southern members of Congress had predicted, many Representatives from outside the South—in 1971 for the first time feeling real pressure for school desegregation in their districts—ignored their past statements and voted to delay or bar the use of busing for desegregation. The new majority has succeeded in adding strong anti-busing language to a massive higher education-desegregation aid bill enacted by the House.

"Marland urges local answers to busing." *Education Daily,* Dec. 16, 1971, p.1.

U.S. Commissioner of Education, Sidney P. Marland, yesterday ducked the issue of approving or disapproving busing to eliminate racial isolation in the public schools and instead urged that solutions to racial isolation must be devised by local communities. . . . But Marland apparently split with the President by declining to oppose busing across the board; in some cases, "busing may be necessary," he stated.

Brown, Ronald. "Busing as a permissible tool in desegregation." *The Black Law Journal,* v.1, Winter 1971, p.222-233.

The long-range significance of cases like *Swann* and *Davis* is even more important than the impact of these decisions on their litigants, because these cases provide an index to the courts' and the country's commitment to achieving a just society within the framework of law. But if political maneuvering and procrastination enervate the potential of Brown's progeny to move towards a single society, then whites and blacks will have moved closer to the Kerner Commission's "two societies" in which racial intolerance will have reached critical mass.

Steif, William. "A panic in the halls of Congress." *Race Relations Reporter,* Jan. 1972, p.15-17.

Here is a detailed discussion of both congressional and executive response to busing as a means for desegregation. There is particular reference in this article to the fact that this is an election year.

"Ford signs discharge petition for busing amendment." *Education Daily,* Jan. 27, 1972, p.1-2.

House Republican leader Gerald Ford of Michigan on January 25th signed a discharge petition that would force a vote on proposed constitutional amendments to have busing of school children to achieve racial balance, a significant step for anti-busing proponents.

"Busing—a bane to the White House." *Education Summary,* Feb. 4, 1972, p.1.

The Richmond, Va., federal court decision ordering consolidation of city and suburban districts to achieve desegregation will probably influence other desegregation cases now in litigation. The implications of the metropolitan system are that state education agencies will be more responsible for planning and follow-through; and in the case of Richmond, costs will go up for the suburbs.

"Nixon promises anti-busing action." *Education Daily,* Feb. 15, 1972, p.1.

President Nixon and members of Congress who attended a recent White House meeting proposed that the following avenues be examined in a study of various approaches to the problem of busing: (1) intervention on pending desegregation cases by the Justice Department; (2) possible legislation; and (3) support of a constitutional amendment that would prohibit busing for racial balance.

"School busing, 'as American as apple pie.' " *Education Summary,* Feb. 18, 1972, p.6.

Excerpts from a sermon by Bishop Richard S. Emrich, Episcopal Diocese of Michigan: "If we decide this busing issue in such a way that America takes another step toward unity, we will have moved to stop the maturing of the contradiction. If we do nothing, or talk and act in such a way that the division is increased, then we must in the long run take the consequences."

"Candidates' busing views." New York *Times,* Feb. 23, 1972, p. 20.

Brief statements by the 1972 Democratic and Republican candidates for President on the issue of busing children to achieve racial balance in the public schools.

Peterson, Iver. "Student busing never big issue here despite racial imbalance." New York *Times,* Feb. 23, 1972, p.20.

The Fleischmann Commission on education labeled racial imbalances in New York City "severe" because 88.17 per cent of the 906 schools are racially imbalanced and 66 per cent of the total are totally segregated.

Woodcock, Leonard. "Busing—a code word." New York *Times,* Feb. 23, 1972, p.42.

Advocates the use of busing and other techniques to achieve quality, equal and integrated education.

Clark, Kenneth B. "Some facts on educational busing." N.Y., Marc Corp., 1972, 9p.

Although bus transportation has been an integral part of the American educational process since 1919, the present issue of busing is being used by some public officials to exploit traditional American racial fears. Evidence of the success of educational busing for other than racial reasons is cited.

Glaser, Nathan. "Is busing necessary?" *Commentary,* v.53, March 1972, p.39-52.

After reviewing the recent court decisions to obliterate de facto segregation in Northern communities, the author argues that these new decisions give enormous control to central school bureaucracies and reduce the influence of people over their own environment and their own fate. Asserts that the schools are, perhaps, the only major function of government which would not suffer—and might even benefit—from a measure of local control.

"Busing: an American dilemma." *Newsweek,* March 13, 1972, p.20-24.

Discusses the current state of busing and anti-busing programs, and cites a recent Gallup poll which shows that 69 per cent of those polled opposed busing as a means of desegregation.

"Driving toward integration." *Newsweek,* March 13, 1972, p.22-23.

Points out the achievement gains and possible psychological problems of black children who have been bused.